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THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN CARIA REVISITED

YENİDEN ERKEN TUNÇ ÇAĞI'NDA KARIA

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ABSTRACT

Caria, located in the southwest of Anatolia, is a partly neglected region in terms of prehistoric studies. However, it is possible to make some general evaluations about the Early Bronze Age by compiling the current archaeological data. This article aims to understand the change in the Carian Early Bronze Age and the interactions with the surrounding regions. In the Early Bronze Age cemeteries in the region, specifically produced pithoi as burial vessels were used, multiple burials were made, there are grave markers marking the location of the graves, and some drinking rituals were performed at the graveside. In ceramics, new features appear in the Early Bronze Age II. The appearance of the Carian one-handled tankards and the first two-handled cups at the end of EBA II indicates that a new drinking culture, which began to spread throughout Anatolia, reached here and was adapted locally. The relations of Carian communities with the surrounding cultures in the Chalcolithic period gradually intensified in the Early Bronze Age. Caria took its place in a wide network of relations established between the Aegean, Anatolia and the Near East in the Early Bronze Age. Karia lacks traditional elements (citadel, central building, executive tombs, treasures, etc.) that prove the existence of elites in Western Anatolia. However, its location, especially at the intersection of important land and sea routes, has enabled communities here to engage in long-distance networks and adapt some practices popular among the elite. It should be considered that the elites who knew how to establish long-distance relations in the region, providing both product and possibly technology transfer, existed at least from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

Keywords: Caria, Early Bronze Age, Grave Markers, Drinking Rituals, Anatolian Trade Network.

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ÖZET

Anadolu'nun güneybatısında yer alan Karia, prehistorik dönem araştırmaları açısından kısmen ihmal edilmiş bir bölgedir. Bununla birlikte, az sayıdaki arkeolojik verinin derlenmesi ile Erken Tunç Çağı hakkında bazı genel değerlendirmeler yapmak mümkündür. Bu makale, tüm bu verileri genel olarak değerlendirip, Erken Tunç Çağı'ndaki değişimini ve Karia'nın çevresindeki bölgelerle etkileşimlerini anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Bölgedeki Erken Tunç Çağı mezarlıklarında, çoğunlukla özellikle mezar kabı olarak üretilmiş pithosların kullanıldığı, çoklu gömmelerin yapıldığı, mezarların yerini işaretleyen mezar belirteçlerinin var olduğu ve mezar başında bazı içki ritüellerinin yapıldığı görülmektedir. Seramikte, Erken Tunç Çağı II'de yeni özellikler ortaya çıkar. ETÇ II sonunda Karia tipi tek kulplu tankardlar ile ilk çift kulplu kadehlerin de repertuvara eklenmesi, Anadolu genelinde yaygınlaşmaya başlayan yeni bir içki kültürünün buraya da ulaşmış ve yerel olarak uyarlanmış olduğu gösterir. Karia topluluklarının çevre kültürlerle Kalkolitik Çağ'da var olan ilişkileri Erken Tunç Çağı'nda giderek yoğunlaşır. Bunun sebebi, Ege, Anadolu ve Yakındoğu arasında Erken Tunç Çağı'nda kurulan geniş bir ilişkiler ağının içerisinde Karia'nın da yerini almasıdır. Karia, Batı Anadolu'da elitlerin varlığının kanıtı olan tipik unsurlardan (sitadel, merkezi bina, yönetici mezarları, defineler vb.) yoksundur. Bununla birlikte, özellikle önemli kara ve deniz yollarının kesişiminde yer alması, buradaki toplulukların uzak mesafeli ağlara dahil olması ve elitler arasında sevilen bazı uygulamaları adapte etmesini sağlamıştır. Bölgede uzak mesafe ilişkiler kurmayı bilen hem ürün hem de olasılıkla teknoloji transferini sağlayan elitlerin, en azından Erken Tunç Çağı başından itibaren var olduğu düşünülmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karia, Erken Tunç Çağı, Mezar Belirteçleri, İçki Törenleri, Anadolu Ticaret Ağı.

INTRODUCTION

"The Early Bronze Age in Caria" by Vermeule[1] was the first article to deal directly with this subject almost 40 years ago. The article made preliminary observations on the overseas relations of coastal Caria based on Early Bronze Age (EBA) data obtained from the drilling of water wells near Ortakent/Muskebi in Bodrum. Although the first observations on Carian prehistory date back to the second half of the 19th century,[2] the data obtained through scientific research have remained almost insignificant for many years.

Excavations in the monumental cities of Caria, particularly from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, constitute the main pillar of regional 19th and 20th-century archaeology. An EBA cemetery discovered during the excavations at Iasos was the first context studied by systematic excavations.[3] The archaeological remains found were the first definitive evidence of the region's EBA overseas relations. Unlike those on the coast, the settlement layers in Aphrodisias, near the north/northeast border of Caria, offered archaeological material compatible with the interior of western Anatolia.[4]

Another important event in the 20th century was the discovery of prehistoric sites within the region's coal mining areas and the rescue excavations conducted in these areas. Almost all traces of the EBA, particularly in the Yatağan and Milas plains, have been identified through salvage excavations.[5] In the 21st century, Caria EBA research has gained notable momentum, although it still lags behind research on other regions of Western Anatolia.

This study aims to define the EBA dynamics in Caria. To this end, scattered excavation results were compiled, completed by the author's observations, who proposed an original ceramic seriation and relative chronology to ensure the soundness of the evaluations. The author thus attempted to place the known material of the region into a correct chronology. Based on this chronological framework, the author analysed how the region adapted to the ever-changing "Mediterranean EBA", an era rich in interregional relations and unique in its characteristics.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As indicated in the introduction, while EBA research in the Caria region is limited, various comprehensive studies have been published throughout Anatolia on EBA.[6] These studies have mainly been shaped by the influence of research seeking to comprehend the interactions between the Near East and the Aegean. The EBA, dated around the 3rd millennium BC, is a period in which relations between Southern Mesopotamia, Iran and Afghanistan on the one hand, and the distant regions extending into the Balkans and Europe on the other, experienced a rapid rise, as evidenced by archaeological remains.[7]

To understand this large-scale framework, the most famous representative of the Annales school, Braudel,[8] considered the Mediterranean as holistic geography, challenging the archaeological view limited by state or national boundaries. His emphasis on a historical *longue durée* introduced a perspective against historiography that focused on major, exceptional historical events. Broodbank,[9] who systematically evaluated the interactions between seemingly remote regions of the Mediterranean over millennia, is one of the best reflections of Braudel's perspective on Bronze Age archaeology. Broodbank's study also underlined the significance of land and sea route organisation in shaping this process.

Wallerstein[10] emphasised the importance of Braudel's approach in developing the World-Systems perspective and the significance of his depiction of the Mediterranean as a "world-economy". The most critical adaptation of World-systems approaches concerning Bronze Age archaeology belongs to Sherratt.[11] Sherratt noted that after the change in the Holocene period, people concentrated in specific cores could establish networks to transmit and imitate complex messages, and copper became a desirable commodity for these groups. In the emerging "urban centres", it becomes clear that particular objects requiring specialised craftsmanship assume not only material but also an ideological significance. New forms of consumption (exclusive textiles, metals, alcoholic beverage consumption, etc.) arose among a minority living there, particularly concerning rituals. The transfer of ideas was as important as the transfer of goods/products between cities. The birth of elites was not a local phenomenon but a common product of a vast area affected by this process. Mass production and advanced

1 Vermeule 1964.
2 Bent 1888: 82.
3 Pecorella 1984.
4 Kadish 1969, 1971; Joukowsky 1986.
5 Keskin/Yıldız 2016: 198-200.
6 Şahoğlu 2005, Efe 2007.
7 Türkteki 2013; Broodbank 2016: 258, Fig. 7.1; Rahmstorf 2017; Massa/Palmisano 2018.
8 Braudel 1972; 2007: 73-203.
9 Broodbank 2016.
10 Wallerstein 2006: 15-17.
11 Sherratt 2000.

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craftsmanship played an essential role in the formation of this new core. This entire process was the pioneering stage of the World-System defined by Wallerstein.[12] This framework fits well with the Chalcolithic and EBA processes of the Near East. However, the idea of "chiefdom" was transferred and adapted in Europe without importing all the "Near Eastern institutions". Some highly crafted objects that were once personal items became commodities and later prestige objects. The new idea of chieftaincy in Europe, along with its symbolic package and myths, was gradually transformed by society through the advent of being able to travel and see over long distances and the rituals that supported these changes.[13]

Researchers took critical steps to determine the nature of prestige objects and the direction of technology transfer in the Anatolian and Aegean Early Bronze Ages under the impact of similar approaches.[14] Urbanization was at the core of this economic model. However, there have been serious discussions about recognizing the settlements of West Anatolian EBA communities as "urban centres", regardless of their undeniable involvement in all of these networks and interactions.[15] Frangipane,[16] who provided a constructive approach to the problem, emphasised that the "East" and "West" of Anatolia developed different responses to this process. She stated that the models of the Middle Eastern city, state, economy and bureaucracy were not adopted by communities in Central and Western Anatolian, while Western elites developed a management model based on the consumption of "prestige goods". Such networks, in which the Western Anatolian communities were active, had been existent since the Chalcolithic period (Final Neolithic for the Aegean).[17] Hence, the formation of elites at Western Anatolia and their involvement in remote networks must have begun before the EBA. Anatolia was a part of a wide communication network in the EBA and this network was effective in the transfer of raw materials, technology and ideas.[18] It appears that the Near Eastern urban model and its institutions were never fully adopted in West Anatolia during the EBA. The strongest aspect of the West Anatolian elites - whose existence were obvious in citadels like such as, Troy, Liman Tepe and Küllüoba – must have been their ability to maintain and establish long-distance relationships.

[12] Sherratt 2000: 116-128, Fig. 5.1.
[13] Kristiansen/Larsson 2005: 251.
[14] Şahoğlu 2005; Efe 2007; Rahmstorf 2017; Massa/Palmisano 2018.
[15] Çevik 2005.
[16] Frangipane 2010: 83-84.
[17] Kouka 2008: 272-273.
[18] Şahoğlu 2005; Efe 2007; Rahmstorf 2017; Massa/Palmisano 2018; Oğuzhanoğlu 2019b.

In Southwest Anatolia, which is devoid of large plains, the natural communication routes that enabled access to this network were of particular importance. Sites were clustered either in small coastal plains (e.g. Iasos, Damlıboğaz, Cnidus) with access to the maritime roads or inland river valleys (e.g. Aphrodisias, Çine-Tepecik, Stratonikeia) with access to the land roads. Yatağan Plain, however, was in an important location at the intersection of the influence area of marine and land roads. To access Southwest Anatolia from Central Anatolia, the most convenient natural route passed by Menderes Valley and then followed Çine (Marsyas) valley. This route, described as the "Carian highway" by Hawkins,[19] was used in the southwestern expeditions of the Hittite kings and was important for the establishment of Hellenistic cities[20] and the Roman roads.[21] It was also later preferred by Suleiman the Magnificent in his Rhodes expedition.[22]

CARIAN EBA SITES

Western Anatolia consists of river valleys extending east-west with mountainous and vast plains in between. These valleys and plains through which the rivers flow formed suitable settlement areas for the time when the normal climatic conditions prevailed in Western Anatolia. However, Caria, located in the southernmost part of Western Anatolia, has a different structure. Unlike the major rivers in the rest of the Aegean, the Menteşe Mountains extend parallel to the sea in a region irrigated by smaller rivers and constitute an obstacle to the relationship between the coast and the interior areas. Otherwise stated, the geographical conditions in the south of the Büyük Menderes (Meander) River are completely different to those in the northern parts of Western Anatolia. This limited the number of lowland areas suitable for settlement and made those that were suitable more challenging to discover. The settlements currently known were located in the plains near the coast or along the forks of Menderes River, which flows north-south. These river forks provide natural access to the main route, the Menderes Valley, and access to fertile wetlands (Fig. 1).

Aphrodisias is a site on the north-eastern border of Caria, located on the banks of the Dandalas (Marsynus) Stream, one of the southern forks of the river Menderes. Excavations on the Acropolis and Pekmez Hills have revealed the presence of EBA layers. In the settlement on the summit of the Acropolis, findings that could belong to a substantial settlement in the field of textiles and

[19] Hawkins 1989: 25-27.
[20] Debord 1994: 120.
[21] Calder/Bean 1958.
[22] Söğüt 2019.

Fig. 1: Early Bronze Age Sites in Southwest Anatolia (by the author) / *Güneybatı Anadolu'daki Erken Tunç Çağı sitleri (harita yazara aittir)*

agricultural production have been unearthed.[23] The EBA III cemetery of Karahisar is located in the main valley, in the south of Aphrodisias.[24] The material culture here is very similar to that of the Menderes Valley rather than that of the Yatağan plain or coastal Caria.[25]

The Yatağan plain and Çine (Marsyas) valley, which rise here and are connected with the Menderes River, formed an important settlement area similar to that of the west of the Dandalas (Marsynus) valley. Tepecik Mound is located on the bank of the Çine stream and is the most important prehistoric research site in the region. It shows the effectiveness of the overseas relations of Inner Caria as of the Chalcolithic Age.[26] One of the signs of these relations is the presence of obsidian from the island of Giali in Çine-Tepecik and Iasos.[27] Unfortunately, few EBA layers have been excavated.[28] A small group of architectural remains and some graves date back to EBA I. The potential for a big EBA settlement to be discovered is also relatively high, particularly considering its central location in Middle and Late Bronze Ages. EBA II-III pithos burials have also been found in Çakırbeyli Küçüktepe Mound[29] a little to the north of the Çine Tepecik mound.

The most important EBA remains in the Yatağan Plain are the EBA I Çapalıbağ cemetery[30] and the EBA II-IIIA Kumyer Cemetery,[31] which have been explored through salvage excavations. Aside from these areas, salvage excavations were conducted in the Yarbaşı, Küpasar and Erikli cemeteries.[32] The Damlıboğaz cemetery,[33] located south of the Yatağan plain east of Iasos, and the settlement and cemetery areas[34] found at the Belentepe and Hüsamlar locations near Ören (Keramos) have also been investigated during short-term salvage excavations and indicate the EBA II-III process.

Iasos is the only excavated coastal site with EBA remains in Caria. The cemetery was excavated between 1961 and 1967 and some surface finds from the acropolis were dated back to the EBA.[35] The acropolis remains have been interpreted as the settlement area belonging to the cemeteries in this section.[36] Moreover, three tombs discovered in the region where the Stoa of Artemis Astias is located and which is thought to be an island suggested another cemetery area, which is consistent with other examples.[37] At Knidos, a coastal settlement within the borders of Datça, there is no scientific evidence for the

[23] Kadish 1969; 1971; Joukowsky 1986.
[24] Yaylalı/Akdeniz 2002.
[25] Oğuzhanoğlu 2015: 329.
[26] Günel 2014b.
[27] Carter et al. 2016.
[28] Günel 2014a: 115, Fig. 7; 2014b; 2021: 121-122.
[29] Yaylalı et al. 2018: 117-118, Fig. 6-7; Tütüncüler-Bircan 2019
[30] Oğuzhanoğlu/Pazarcı 2020.
[31] Tırpan/Gider 2011: 385-387; Akarsu 2013: 38-100.
[32] Boysal 1979: 389-390; Tırpan 1997: 89-90; Oğuzhanoğlu 2019a: 5-8.
[33] Gülseven 2002.
[34] Özbey 2015; Savran/Ertürk 2016.
[35] Momigliano 2012: 8.
[36] Pecorella 1984: 11, 100.
[37] Momigliano 2012: 9-10.

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Cycladic-type tombs mentioned by Bent[38] and the marble idols said to have been recovered from them.[39] A marble idol found by Love during some work in Kap Krio in the 1970s as part of systematic research on the site was accepted as evidence for such finds.[40] It is claimed that the site was closely associated with the Dodecanese in the later stages of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.[41]

Little is known about the architecture of the region as the majority of EBA sites described above are cemetery areas. Although architectural strata have been found in Hüsamlar and Belentepe, which have been explored in recent years during rescue excavations, detailed reports have not yet been published. In these two settlements, 3 km apart, the existence of two-layered slope settlements is mentioned.[42] Compared to mounds, such settlements that are not located on the mound and extend horizontally are more challenging to discover and recognize on surveys. This could be why residential areas are overlooked. The area is very poor in terms of mounds/ *höyük*s. In Belentepe, in addition to some residential areas, there is a two-phase building with a courtyard paved with limestone.[43] Although the description of the building suggests that it may have had a special function, it is impossible to say with certainty without a detailed publication. At Hüsamlar, the two-layered settlement dated back to the EBA II-III[44].

The Dodecanese is one of the regions that will undoubtedly provide the essential information for understanding the dynamics of Carian archaeology. Urbanisation began in Asomatos and Kos Seraglio in Rhodes and the remains of settlements surrounded by walls in the EBA II are known.[45] Marketou[46] stated that Rhodos, Kos and Kalymnos became important powers in maritime trade and production, particularly during EBA IIIB. In addition to these, the majority of the tombs unearthed during the excavations in Asklupis and Messaria in Kos consist of pithoi.[47] These tombs, which were dated back to EBA II, were interpreted as following the Anatolian tradition concerning burial customs.[48]

CARIAN EBA BURIAL HABITS

Iasos, Damlıboğaz, Kumyer, Yarbaşı, Küpasar, Erikli, Belentepe, Hüsamlar, Çapalıbağ, Çakırbeyli-Küçüktepe and Çine-Tepecik are cemeteries of the Carian EBA, albeit partially published (Fig. 1). The majority of the graves in the cemeteries of Çapalıbağ, Çine-Tepecik and Iasos date back to EBA I.[49] In pot and pithos graves in Çapalıbağ and Çine Tepecik, large deep bowls were sometimes used as grave covers. This type of deep bowl was a domestic shape which was abundant in Southwest Anatolian Chalcolithic and EBA contexts so its use in EBA cemeteries must be secondary. Pithoi with many vertical handles on both sides and multiple burials in a single pithos are observed in Çapalıbağ from EBA IA. The cemetery of Iasos consists exclusively of cist graves and, with this feature, is usually compared with the cemeteries of the Cyclades.[50] These comparisons between Iasos and Cyclades Islands are based not only on the tomb types but also on the Cycladic stone vessels and ceramics found in the tombs that are unknown elsewhere in Anatolia.[51] Although the dating of the cist graves at Erikli, which lies within the boundaries of Stratonikeia, is not certain, they are similar to Iasos graves (Fig. 2)[52].

EBA II burials are known from Iasos (graves no. 12 and 95),[53] Kumyer[54] and Çakırbeyli-Küçüktepe.[55] Although there is no information regarding the types of graves in Damlıboğaz, the pottery from the graves can be dated back to this period.[56] The Kumyer Cemetery is the best source of information about burial types and customs. Here, the most typical application is a burial in large-sized, pointed-based and multi-handled pithos (Fig. 3). Multiple burials are common. The practice of marking the graves with piles of stones or circular walls/ enclosures, possibly as a grave marker, was popular in the tombs.[57] Although no detailed information on their dating has been published, the same type of grave markers is found in the tombs of Hüsamlar and Belentepe, some of which date back to EBA II.[58] EBA III constitutes the least known phase for the region. Remains of this phase are known from Belentepe, Hüsamlar[59] and Küpasar.[60]

38 Bent 1888: 82.
39 Love 1970: 152; Doksanaltı 2020: 392.
40 Love 1970: 152.
41 Doksanaltı 2020: 392.
42 Savran 2017: 104, 110.
43 Savran 2017: 104, Fig. 2.
44 Savran/Kaçar 2019: 151-152.
45 Marketou 2009: 51.
46 Marketou 2009: 51.
47 Hope-Simpson/Lazenby 1970, 57, Fig. 5, Pl. 19c; Morricone 1950, 324, Fig. 102.
48 Christopoulou 2008, 1312; Vitale 2013.
49 Oğuzhanoğlu/Pazarcı 2020; Günel 2014a: 115, Fig. 7; Pecorella 1984.
50 Levi 1963: 565; Doumas 1977: 68-69, Pecorella 1984: 102.
51 Pecorella 1984: 99-104.
52 Oğuzhanoğlu 2019a: 5-8.
53 Pecorella 1984: 103.
54 Tırpan/Gider 2011: 385-387; Akarsu 2013: 38-100.
55 Yaylalı et al. 2018: 117-118, Fig. 6-7; Tütüncüler-Bircan 2019.
56 Gülseven 2002.
57 Akarsu 2013: 255-259, Table 1.
58 Savran 2017: 105-106, Fig. 4; Savran/Kaçar 2019: 156-157, Fig. 5-6.
59 Savran 2017: 105-106; Savran/Kaçar 2019: 156-157.
60 Yaylalı 2008.

Fig. 2: A cist grave from Stratonikeia-Erikli (Photo: Stratonikeia and Lagina Excavation Archive) / *Stratonikeia-Erikli'den bir plaka tekne mezar (Foto: Stratonikeia ve Lagina Kazı Arşivi)*

Küpasar is a pithos cemetery known only from surface finds. At Hüsamlar and Belentepe, small cist graves were excavated in addition to pithos with multiple burials.[61] This is the most important evidence suggesting that this tradition continued in EBA II and later in Caria.

Fig. 4: A kiln from Kumyer cemetery (Photo: Umay Oğuzhanoğlu) / *Kumyer mezarlığından bir fırın (Foto: Umay Oğuzhanoğlu)*

From examinations of these cemeteries, some burial customs can be listed:

1. Extramural cemeteries: The extramural cemetery is characteristic of the West Anatolian EBA.[62] Çapalıbağ cemetery shows that the tradition of the extramural cemetery was adopted in Caria from at least 3100 BC[63] (Table 5).

[61] Savran/Kaçar 2019: 156-157.
[62] Stech-Wheeler 1974: 416, Perello 2013: 34.
[63] Oğuzhanoğlu/Pazarcı 2019: 212.

Fig. 3: Pithos graves from Kumyer (Photo: U. Oğuzhanoğlu) / *Kumyer'den pithos mezarlar (Foto: U. Oğuzhanoğlu)*

2. The dominance of pithos graves: Similarly to other West Anatolian cemeteries, in Carian cemeteries, the dominant type of burial is pithoi, except for Iasos, where all of the graves are cists. This tradition was not limited to the Anatolian coasts since the majority of tombs are pithoi in both Messaria and Asklupis cemeteries in Kos.[64] Not only the grave type but also the burial habits in EBA Kos are considered as related to Anatolian tradition.

3. Pithoi produced specifically for the cemetery: Certain domestic vessels were reutilised as burial vessels in the Çapalıbağ cemetery. Additionally, a group of pithoi in the same cemetery was crafted specifically to be burial vessels. The use of pithoi with a pointed base and multiple vertical handles on both sides, particularly handles near the pointed bottom, is observed even more intensively in EBA II. This type of pithos is more suitable for carrying and holding sideways than for domestic use as pithos with a pointed base and handles close to the base is not suitable to be vertically attached to the house/store floor and must have been preferred in cemeteries.[65] Kumyer pithoi have up to ten handles.[66] Seven kilns with a diameter of up to 3.25 m on the periphery of the Kumyer cemetery must have been used to produce pithos for the cemetery, considering their size and location (Fig. 4).[67]

4. Cist Graves and Cycladica: Cist graves are known at Iasos, Cnidus, Hüsamlar and Belentepe in the Carian

[64] Christopoulou 2008: 1311; Vitale 2013: 48.
[65] Oğuzhanoğlu 2014: 74-75.
[66] Akarsu 2013: Table 2.
[67] Tırpan/Gider 2011: 386-387.

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while examples form Stratonikeia-Erikli are in inner Caria. This type of tomb, whose parallels are also found in Bakla Tepe, close to the coast in Western Anatolia, are generally concentrated in the coastal area.[68] There is only one cist grave in the Harmanören pithos cemetery in the inner parts of Southwest Anatolia.[69] The existence of cist-graves in West Anatolia is taken as evidence of the presence of people of Cycladic origin in Western Anatolia, rather than a local adaptation of a burial tradition.[70] The presence of cist graves in Stratonikeia-Erikli must be related to its location on the "Carian highway", which is known to have been very active after the Chalcolithic Age. Doumas associates Iasos cist graves with the Cycladic types.[71] It has also been suggested that the oval-shaped ones may be Anatolia variants[72] as oval-shaped specimens have been found in Stratonikeia-Erikli and Kos-Asklupis.

Fig. 5: Sauceboat Fragment from Laodikeia-Kandilkırı cemetery (Laodikeia Excavation Archive) / *Laodikeia-Kandilkırı mezarlığından bir sos kabı (Foto: Laodikeia Kazı Arşivi)*

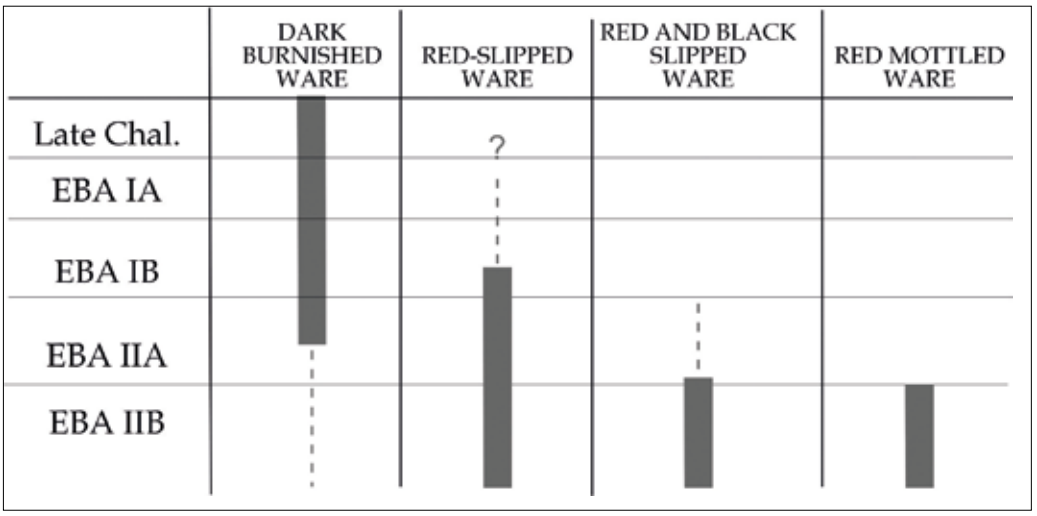
Aside from Cycladic obsidian in Southwest Anatolia, Iasos graves have yielded some Cycladica: marble and ceramic vases with Early Cycladic I (Grotta-Pelos) affinities.[73] A single - likely cycladizing - frying pan was unearthed in Tavas-Karahisar cemetery alongside EBA IIIA material[74] and one sauceboat was found in the Laodikeia-Kandilkırı EBA II cemetery[75] (Fig. 5). Other Cycladica in Southwest Anatolia have come from settlement layers rather than graves. The most definite group is from the İzmir region (Liman Tepe and Bakla Tepe) and consists of frying-pans and sauceboats.[76]

5. Grave markers and multiple burials: Although this practice was not evident in the EBA I Çapalıbağ and Iasos cemeteries, grave markers were frequently encountered, especially in the EBA II tombs at Kumyer, Hüsamlar and Belentepe. Sometimes they take the form of a cluster or a row of stones near the mouth of the pithos and other times the form of a frame immediately surrounding the outline of the pithos. Grave markers must be related to multiple burials.[77] They may have been used to locate burials, particularly for secondary or tertiary burials. Multiple burials are also found on Kos, where a pile of stones in a tomb at Messaria and a semi-circular row of stone in another at Asklupis are considered grave markers.[78] Common grave markers in Carian cemeteries are also known from neighbouring regions. The best known of these is in the Elmalı-Karataş cemetery in Lycia where the stone circles were formed on top of the pithoi after burial.[79] A similar circle has been observed in Bademağacı.[80] The pile of stones agglomerated on the graves in the Harmanören cemetery have also been interpreted in this way.[81] Small stone walls near Bakla Tepe pithoi are also grave markers.[82] Vertically placed pithos near a cist grave in the Bakla Tepe cemetery may be a grave marker[83] or the remains of a ceremony, according to the drinking and pouring vessel inside.[84] Grave markers must have been used when a certain order prevailed in the cemeteries and particularly when there was no superposition;[85] some grave markers that have not survived may have been made of wood. Multiple burials are considered "family vaults".[86] However, no genetic studies have been conducted in the region to prove the lineage ties of the individuals in the same tomb.

6. Burial gifts and ceremonies: Pottery is the most intensive group of grave gifts. The vessels in the tomb consist of various shapes including bowls, jugs, jars, amphorae and tankards. In the Kumyer cemetery, there were also burial gifts left outside the cover after the grave has been closed.[87] These are generally amphorae and jugs. A similar practice has been observed in the Harmanören cemetery: a

[68] Perello 2013: Fig. 2.
[69] Özsait 2003: 89.
[70] Massa/Şahoğlu 2011: 169.
[71] Doumas 1977: 37-46.
[72] Stech-Wheeler 1974: 419.
[73] Renfrew 2011: 163-166, figs. 10.4, 10.5; Gerber 2012.
[74] Yaylalı/Akdeniz 2002: 20, Fig. 50.
[75] Oğuzhanoğlu 2015: 81, fFig. 57.
[76] Şahoğlu/Sotirakopoulou 2011: 369-371.
[77] Mellink 1968: 107; Perello 2013: 32-39.
[78] Christopoulou 2008, 1311; Vitale 2013: 52.
[79] Mellink 1969: 319-320, Ill. 1-3.
[80] Duru/Umurtak 2006: 439-440.
[81] Mellink 1968: 107.
[82] Erkanal/Özkan 1999: 113.
[83] Erkanal/Özkan 1999: 29; Şahoğlu 2016: 172.
[84] Massa/Şahoğlu 2011: 166.
[85] Perello 2013: 38-39.
[86] Stech-Wheeler 1974: 418-419.
[87] Akarsu 2013: Fig. 5, 15, 27; Kara 2013: Lev. 14, 28, 30, 216, 226.

Table 1. Carian EBA Wares



jug and small vessel were placed within the pile of stones covering the cist grave.[88] These vessels associated with liquid transport and/or pouring might be the remains of a ceremony associated with the consumption/libation of liquids that took place after the tomb was closed or perhaps during a visit to the grave. Some ceremonies including liquid consumption related to the pits in extramural cemeteries are known from Laodikeia-Kandilkırı and Elmalı-Karataş.[89] The deposition of drinking vessels in the periphery of Bakla Tepe has also been interpreted as the remains of a feast related to mortuary practices.[90]

CARIAN EARLY BRONZE AGE POTTERY

The identification of the characteristic features of the pottery of Carian EBA I is based on Çapalıbağ; cemeteries of Kumyer and Damlıboğaz define EBA II features. To date, no ceramic group has been published in Muğla that can be dated back to EBA III. So far, however, this period is known only from Aphrodisias Acropolis finds in the interior of Caria and salvage excavations at Karahisar near Aphrodisias.[91] Although these inland settlements have greater similarities to the Menderes Valley cultures, they were used in this study to complete the EBA III in the Carian ceramic seriation.

According to the Çapalıbağ data, the Late Chalcolithic wares clearly continued during the EBA I (Table 1). The Deep Bowls, characteristic Late Chalcolithic Age shape, persisted in EBA IA and then gradually disappeared (Fig. 6A, Table 2A). However, it should be noted that the amphora, which has occasional antecedents in the Chalcolithic Age, was prevalent in EBA IB and continued to be used throughout EBA II.[92]

In Caria, there was a change in the ceramic tradition in late-EBA II. The first notable innovation is the appearance of a thin-walled, red-slipped ware (Table 1). The Red-Black Ware (which is red on the outside and black on the inside) is related to the Red Slipped ceramic tradition. It usually has a thin wall and burnished surface. Fine sand, white stone and quartz can sometimes be observed in the dense micaceous paste, which varies in shades of orange and beige. Characteristic shapes for these wares include bowls with a single horizontal handle, bowls with two vertical handles, and a jar with a cylindrical neck and two horizontal handles (Fig. 6B). Long-necked beak-spouted jugs and wide-necked one-handled tankards can reasonably be named the "Carian type" (Fig. 6B: H) and two-handled cups reflect late-EBA II (Table 2B). This group of vessels appeared only in the late phase of EBA II throughout Western Anatolia.[93]

The origin and chronology of two-handled cups are controversial. With a new drinking tradition emerging in Anatolian EBA, two-handled drinking cups quickly gained popularity.[94] Two slightly later examples, tankards and depas cups, are the best known of these two-handled drinking vessels. Additionally, there are different types of two-handled cups made in different regions of Anatolia in nearby periods.[95] Among the two-handled cups from the Caria region (Fig. 6B: G), examples from Hydai/Damlıboğaz origin exhibited in the Sadberk Hanım Museum are noteworthy.[96] The largest group unearthed through archaeological excavations came from the

88 Özsait 2003: 89.
89 Oğuzhanoğlu 2019c.
90 Şahoğlu 2016:172-173; Massa/Şahoğlu 2011: 166.
91 Yaylalı/Akdeniz: 2002
92 Oğuzhanoğlu/Pazarcı 2019: 212, Fig. 16.
93 Oğuzhanoğlu 2021: 6, Table 2.
94 Şahoğlu 2014.
95 For a general and current assessment of Anatolian two-handled cups and depas, see Şahoğlu 2014.
96 Anlağan 2005: 117.

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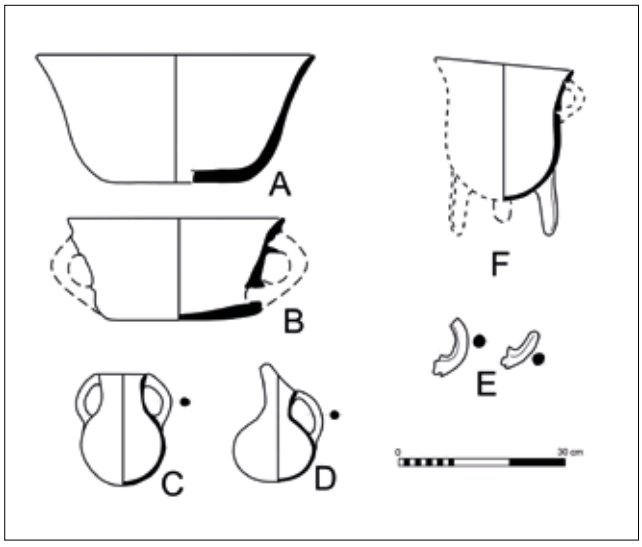

Fig. 6A: EBA I Pottery Shapes in Caria (redrawn by the author after Oğuzhanoğlu and Pazarcı 2019) / *Karia'da ETÇ I seramik formları (Oğuzhanoğlu and Pazarcı 2019'a göre yazar tarafından yeniden çizilmiştir)*

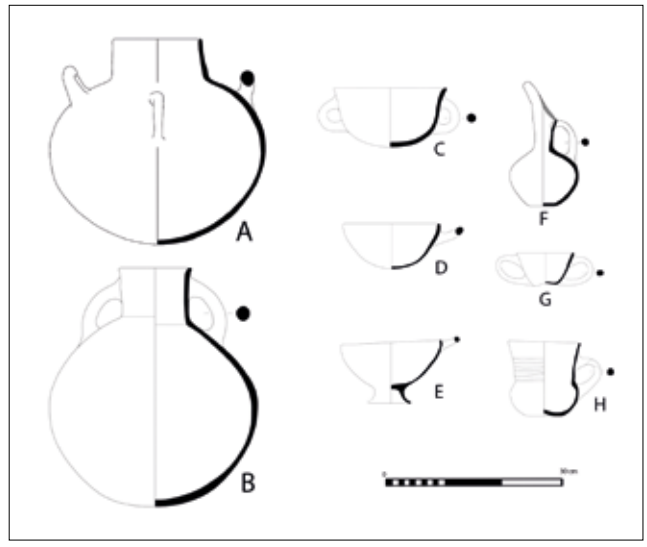

Fig. 6B: EBA II Pottery Shapes in Caria (redrawn by the author after Kara 2013) / *Karia'da ETÇ II seramik formları (Kara 2013'e göre yazar tarafından yeniden çizilmiştir)*

Yatağan Kumyer cemetery. A total of seven two-handled cups from six different graves have been found here.[97] In terms of technique and shape, they belong to the same group as the Damlıboğaz collection in the Sadberk Hanım Museum: well burnished, dark red slipped, thin-walled specimens with a slightly rounded flat base, a body that widens conically towards the mouth and a simple rim. Similar examples of this type have been found in the settlement of Bakla Tepe[98] in İzmir and within the Lefkandi I group.[99] Since they are similarly designated, it should be noted that they are entirely different in both the typological and chronological order from the Central Anatolian type with vertical band motifs and paint decorations[100] and from southwest Anatolian EBA IIIB "small depas" which are red washed, sometimes wheel-shaped, with a ring- or disc-base.[101]

There is only one absolute dating from Kumyer which has yielded two-handled cups (Table 5). In Kumyer assemblage, two-handled cups and one-handled Carian tankards form the drinking vessels group. EBA III ceramic features have not yet been found in these two cemeteries. Although located inland, the presence of a characteristic EBA IIIA repertoire represented by wheel-made plates, double-handled tankards, depas cups, and "s" profile bowls is known from the EBA IIIA layers at Karatas-Semayuk,[102] Samos-Heraion,[103] Aphrodisias Acropolis III-II[104] and Karahisar[105] i.e. in the neighbourhood of Yatağan plain. It can be assumed that such an EBA III culture must have impacted the regions of Yatağan and Milas. The reason for the absence of the EBA III set in Kumyer is not the lack of connection but its dating. The lack of excavation and publication in Carian EBA IIIA sites makes it impossible to comment on the use of potter's wheel reaching the area.

EBA IIIB, the last phase of ceramic seriation for EBA, is best known within the boundaries of Caria in Aphrodisias Acropolis Complex I. However, a piece of pottery found in the cemetery of Yatağan Küpasar suggests that EBA IIIB phase also existed here.[106] This period is better known in the Dodecanese and reflects a phase in which relations between the Dodecanese, particularly between Cyprus and the Cyclades islands, were strengthened.[107] Possibly, Caria was also affected by these newly-formed relationships. An example of a duck vase in Aphrodisias is the most obvious evidence of these relationships to date.

A Carian EBA ceramic seriation can be suggested as shown in Table 3. In summary, although the process in the coastal region of Caria is not clear in EBA IIIA and IIIB, clearly Caria, producing tankards and two-handled cups in its style, was keeping pace with the newly emerging "drinking habits" in Anatolia at the end of EBA II.

97 Akarsu 2013: 264, Table 5.
98 Şahoğlu 2008: 490; Şahoğlu/Sotirakopoulou 2011: 266-67, 371-72, Kat. 110-113.
99 Rutter 1979: Fig. 1:6.
100 Şahoğlu 2014: 298-299, Fig. 3, Type 4.
101 Şahoğlu 2014: 298-299, Fig. 3, Type 5.
102 Eslick 2009: 14-25.
103 Kouka/Menelaou 2018: 127, Fig. 5.
104 Kadish 1968; 1971.
105 Yaylalı/Akdeniz 2002.
106 Kazıl 2004: Fig. 15-16, 20.
107 Åström 1988: 76; Marketou 2009: 52.

Table 2A: Carian EBA Shapes

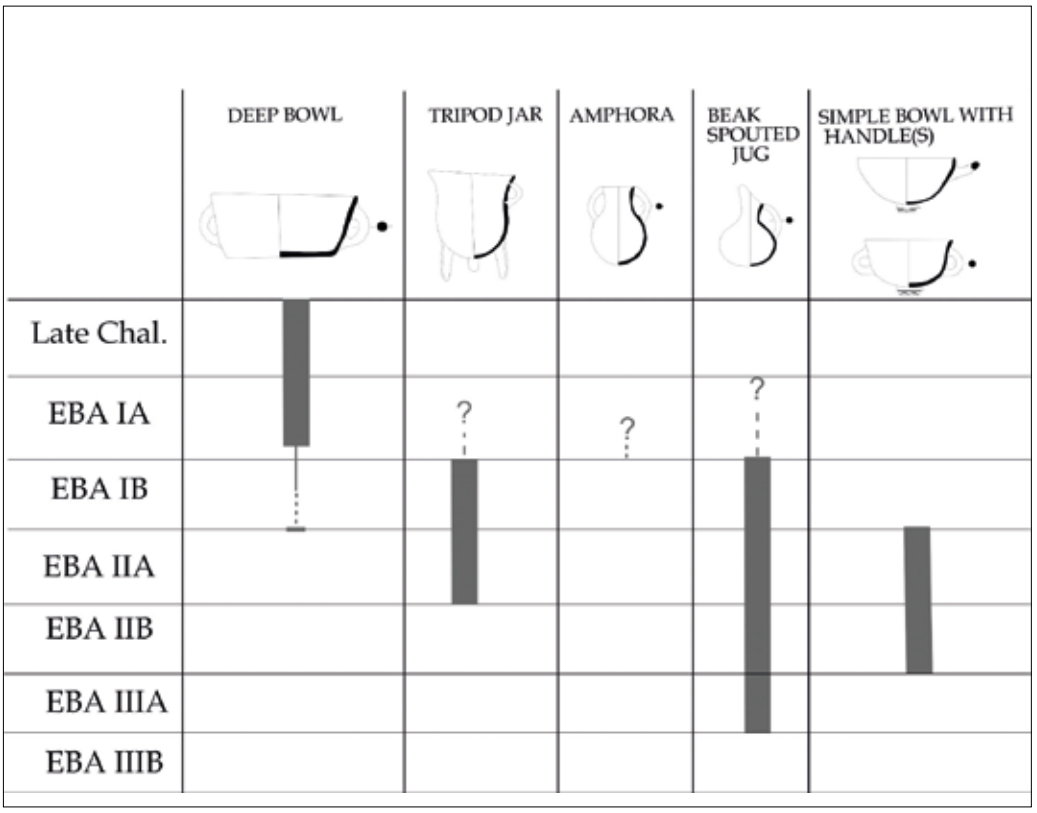

Table 2B. Carian EBA Shapes

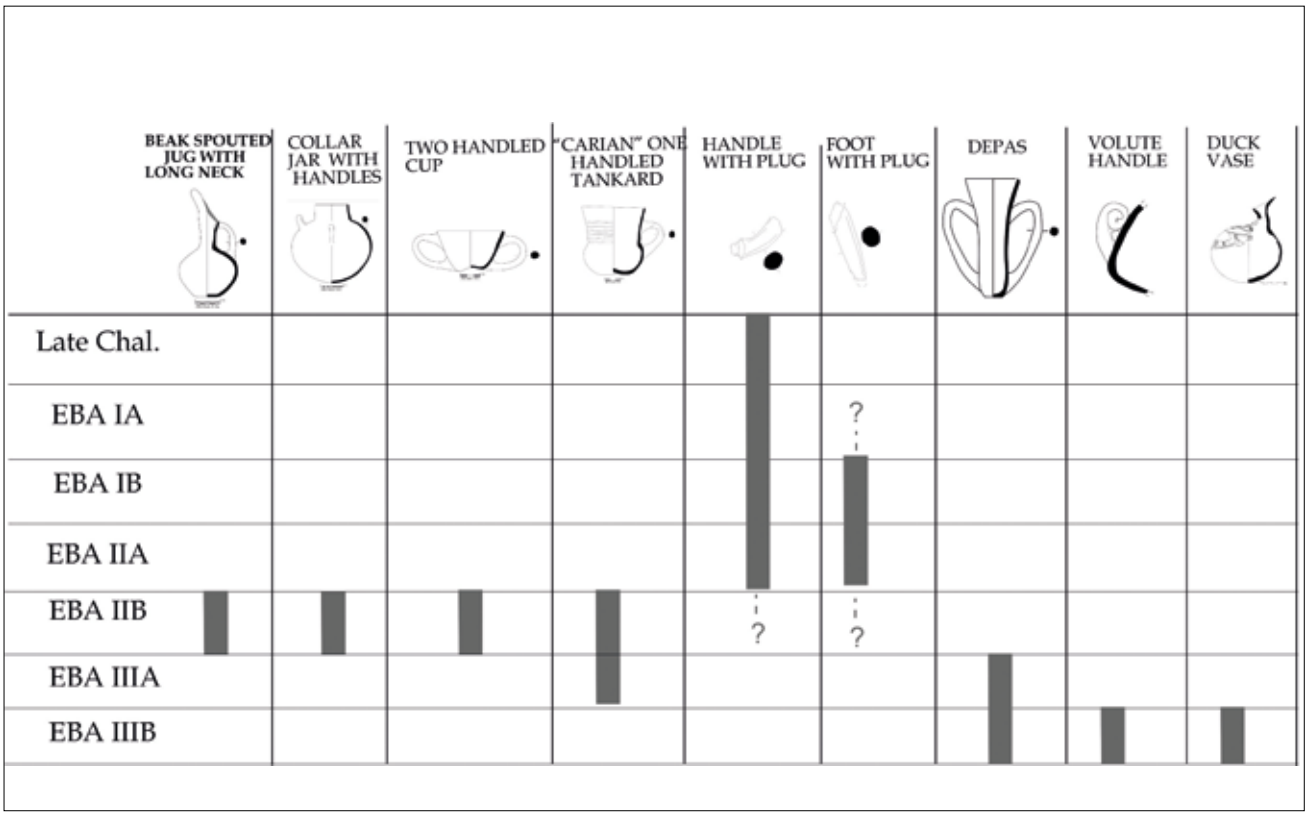

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Table 4: Relative Chronology

EBA	Caria/Dodecanese		Aphrodisias		Beycesultan	Pisidia		Karataş-Semayük	Samos-Heraion	Liman Tepe	Bakla Tepe	Chios-Emporio	Kültüoba		Troia (Korfmann chron.)
			Acropolis	Pekmez									E	W	
IIIB	Küpasar	Kalymnos-Vathy Rhodos-Asomatos	I	IVd	IX-VI	Bademağacı EB III/MBA ?			V-IV	IV.1-2			II		V?-IV
IIIA	Tavas –Karahisar		II	IVe?	XII-X	Harmanören		VI:1-2	III	V.1-2	III	I	III		III-IId-h Iu
			III-V		*hiatus*							II	IV		
IIB	Damlıboğaz	Kumyer	VI	V?	XIII			V: 3	II	V.3					I1-t
IIA	Kos-Asklupis?		VII	VI?	XIV-XVI	Bademağacı EBII/1-3	Kuruçay 1-2	IV-V:1-2	I			III		1	I g-k
IB	Çapalıbağ		VIII		XVII	Hacılar Büyük Höyük		I-III		VI	IV.I	IV-V	V	2-3	Ia-f
IA				VII							IV.II			4-5	
				VIII											
L.Ch				X	XL	Kuruçay 3-5		Bağbaşı		VII	V	VI		6-8	

CARIAN METALLURGY

Another remarkable group of finds in the EBA cemeteries of the Caria are those made of metal. Iasos cist graves yielded a variety of metal objects (Fig. 7). Among them are rings made of different metals: three of silver, one of copper and two of lead. Although their functions remain obscure, it is suggested that these types of rings observed in EBA may have been used as ingots[108] and/or weights for exchange.[109] A flat axe and a two-riveted dagger at Iasos are also noteworthy (Fig. 7). The majority (except two lead rings) of these metal finds are from EBA I graves.[110] The Çapalıbağ EB I cemetery finds have revealed examples of gold, silver and copper in the tombs as of the beginning of the EBA (Fig. 8).[111] Parallels to the Çapalıbağ bronze dagger are known from many settlements. Vitale interpreted examples from an EBA II tomb in Kos as the belongings of an individual of high social status buried inside.[112] Spirals made of gold have been found in the EBA in the Near East, Cyprus and Anatolia. However, the best-known parallels of spirals made with gold-plating on a copper core are known from the Alacahöyük Royal Tombs and date back to a later phase of the EBA (Fig. 8). These two gold spirals and a silver needle were found in the same pithos with a single individual.[113] Remarkably, three of the four metal finds in the Çapalıbağ EBA I cemetery were found in the same grave and were produced from precious metals such as gold and silver. However, since this grave is not a well preserved one, nothing more can be assumed about the burial practices of this grave.

The Kumyer EB II cemetery is rich in metal finds (Fig. 9). Finds such as spirals, gold platelets, a gold diadem, roll-head pins, toggle pins, bracelets, copper/copper alloy daggers with rivet holes, chisels and a razor indicate a metalworking method using various techniques.[114] The presence of toggle pins is considered important evidence of the technological transfer from the Near East to Western Anatolia.[115] Efe[116] also counted the distribution of toggle pins among the leading elements of the main inland route of EBA trade, which he calls the “Great Caravan Route”. For the group that includes a three-riveted dagger and a toggle pin found together with EBA IIIB pottery at Vathy in Kalymnos, Benzi also stated that they display Near Eastern characteristics and their presence in Vathy is due

[108] Rahmstorf 2017: 198.
[109] Erkanal/Artzy/Kouka 2003: 427.
[110] Pecorella 1984: 75-76, Fig. 14.
[111] Oğuzhanoğlu/Pazarcı 2020: 206-208.
[112] Vitale 2013: 61, Fig. 5.1.
[113] Oğuzhanoğlu/Pazarcı 2019: 200, Table 1.
[114] Akarsu 2013: 440-44 Fig. 174-178.
[115] Efe 2007: 49; Fidan 2012.
[116] Efe 2007: 49.

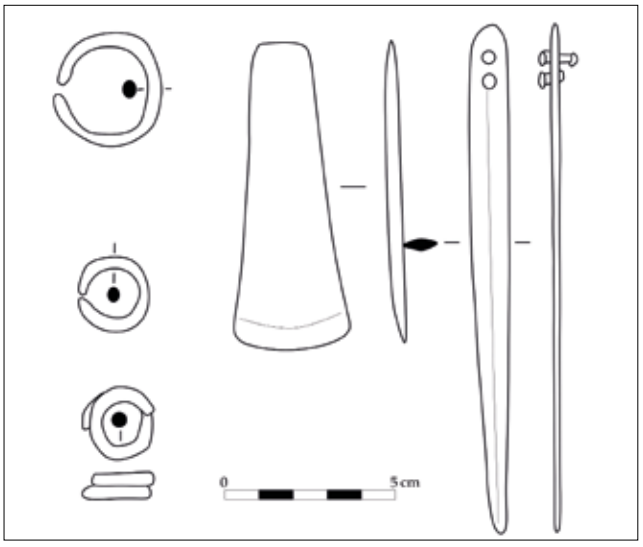

Fig. 7: EBA Metal Finds from Iasos Cemetery (Redrawn by the author after Pecorella 1984: fig. 14:3, 5-8) / *Iasos Mezarlığı'ndan ETÇ metal buluntuları (Pecorella 1984: fig. 14:3, 5-8'e göre yazar tarafından yeniden çizilmiştir)*

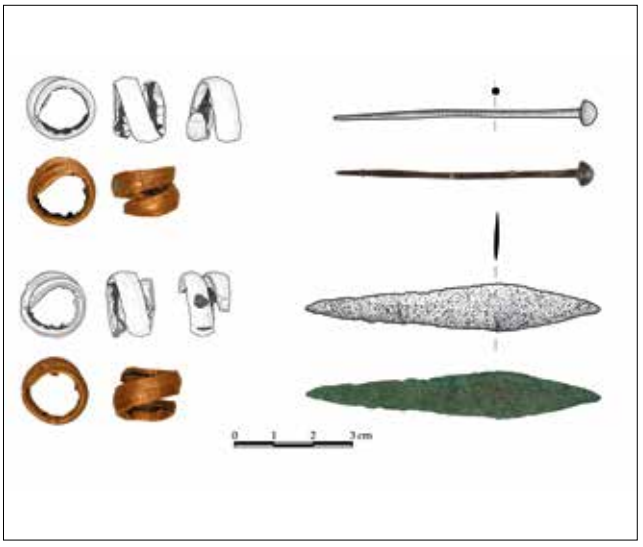

Fig. 8 EBA I metal finds from Çapalıbağ (after Oğuzhanoğlu and Pazarcı 2019, fig. 11) / *Çapalıbağ'dan ETÇ I metal buluntuları (Oğuzhanoğlu and Pazarcı 2019, fig. 11'den)*

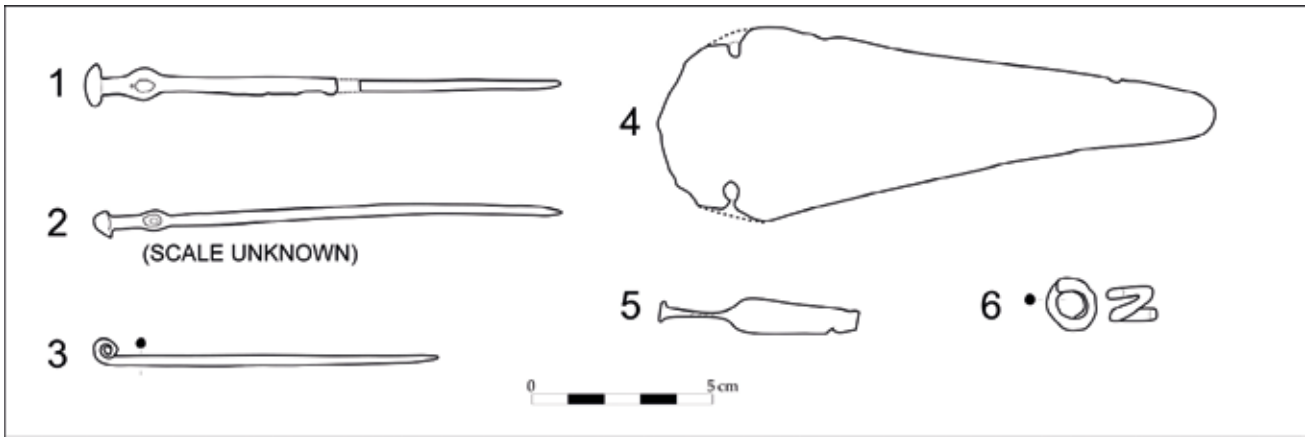

Fig. 9. Some of EBA II metal finds from Kumyer (redrawn by the author after 1: Akarsu 2013, Lev. 171.3; 2: Kara 2013, Lev. 99b; 3: Akarsu 2013, Lev.172: 3; 4: Kara 2013: Lev. 100; 5: Akarsu 2013, Lev. 176.1; 6: Akarsu 2013, Lev. 163: 2) / *Kumyer'den bazı ETÇ II metal buluntuları (1: Akarsu 2013, Lev. 171.3; 2: Kara 2013, Lev. 99b; 3: Akarsu 2013, Lev.172: 3; 4: Kara 2013: Lev. 100; 5: Akarsu 2013, Lev. 176.1; 6: Akarsu 2013, Lev. 163: 2'ye göre yazar tarafından yeniden çizilmiştir)*

to the spread of this group towards Cyprus, the Anatolian and the Aegean.[117] Other examples of toggle pins in Southwest Anatolia have been found in the Karataş-Semayük[118] and Harmanören[119] cemeteries and in the Hacımusalar settlement; the examples here were also interpreted as evidence of Hacımusalar being connected to the inland network since EBA II.[120]

RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

There are chronological issues in Caria due to a lack of systematic excavations and, more significantly, a very limited number of absolute dates (Table 5). However, by correlating the ceramic seriation (Table 3) and the few absolute dating in the region, it is possible to suggest a relative chronology (Table 4) The dates for EBA IA and IB in this table are based on absolute dates from the Çapalıbağ cemetery (Table 5). The proposed dates for the end of EBA II and EBA IIIA in Table 3 are based on absolute dating from the Laodikeia-Kandilkırı settlement at the Denizli Plain, which belonged to the neighbouring regions from the stratum where the one-handled tankard and the outer red-black burnished pottery were first observed. The dates for EBA IIIB are based both on Aphrodisias dates and on the fact that these layers show ceramic features of the Post-Anatolian Trade Network period after its collapse by the 4.2 ka BP climatic event (Table 5).

[117] Benzi 2020: 87.
[118] Mellink 1967: 255, Pl. 77, Fig. 22.
[119] Özsait 2003: 89.
[120] Özgenc 633.

Table 5: Absolute dating for Carian EBA (Aphrodisias samples are published in Joukowsky 1985, Table 4; Çapalıbağ and Kumyer samples are form the author. The calibrations are obtained by using OxCal Online v4.4.4 with IntCal 20 curve (Bronk-Ramsey 2009)

Samples (numbered by the author after the site)	Findspot	Conventional Radiocarbon Age	2Sigma Calibrations (BC) (probability in brackets)	Lab. No/Sample No	Type of Material
Çapalıbağ 1	Grave 17CM06	4405±31	3105-2915(%92) 3265-3241(% 3,3)	TÜBİTAK-0852	Bone
Çapalıbağ 2	Grave 17CM07	4370±29	3031-2907(%86,2) 3089-3056(% 9,2)	TÜBİTAK-0853	Bone
Çapalıbağ 3	Grave 17CM12	4128±42	2872-2580(%95,4)	TÜBİTAK-0854	Bone
Çapalıbağ 4	Grave 18DDM01	4114±31	2777-2576(%71) 2866-2804(%24,4)	TÜBİTAK-0857	Bone
Çapalıbağ 5	Grave 18CM03	4104±27	2706-2573(%62) 2862-2807(% 23,1) 2758-2718(%10,3)	TÜBİTAK-0855	Bone
Çapalıbağ 6	Grave 18CM04	4072±29	2607-2561(%67,6) 2536-2492(% 13,3) 2853-2812(%12,6) 2745-2726(%2)	TÜBİTAK-0856	Bone
Kumyer	Grave 09KYM11	4060±29	2842-2475(95.4) 2859-2468(99.7)	TÜBİTAK-1856	Bone
Aphrodisias 1	Acropolis Trench 4 Level II	3990 +/-60	2842-2296(%95.4) 2870-2206(%99.7)	P-1652	Charcoal
Aphrodisias 2	Acropolis Trench 4 Level IV	3940 +/-90	2846-2144(%95.4) 2877-2039(%99.7)	P-1654	Charcoal
Aphrodisias 3	Acropolis Trench 3 Level II	3860 +/-60	2473-2142(%95.4) 2573-2037(%99.7)	P-1651	Charcoal
Aphrodisias 4	Acropolis Trench 3 Level II	3800 +/-60	2458-2041(%95.4) 2475-1959(%99.7)	P-1774	Charcoal
Aphrodisias 5	Acropolis Trench 3 Level II	3800 +/-50	2454-2046(%95.4) 2467-2028(%99.7)	P-1775	Charcoal
Aphrodisias 6	Acropolis Trench 3 Level II	3720 +/-60	2296-1942(%95.4) 2455-1888(%99.7)	P-1650	Seed
Aphrodisias 7	Acropolis Trench 3 Level IV	3620 +/-60	2194-1776(%95.4) 2280-1741(%99.7)	P-1653	Charcoal
Aphrodisias 8	Acropolis Trench 3 Level II	3560 +/-60	2125-1700(%95.4) 2194-1635(%99.7)	P-1649	Seed
Aphrodisias 9	Acropolis Trench 3 Level I	3540 +/-60	2035-1693(%95.4) 2137-1627(%99.7)	P-1648	Charcoal

DISCUSSION: WERE THERE ELITES IN CARIA?

The emergence of elites in West Anatolia is clearly visible in citadels like Troy, Liman Tepe and Küllüoba by monumental fortifications, central/administrative buildings, deposition of exotica, hoards, an abundance of metal finds, etc. The central building and privileged grave in Karataş-Semayük can also be considered as evidence of elites in Lycia.[121] This leads one to query what can be determined about the emergence of these long-distance relations established and controlled by elites, starting from the Chalcolithic period, in a region like Caria, which has very limited archaeological information for the EBA.

Caria is located at the intersection of important maritime and land routes.[122] The Middle Chalcolithic layers of Çine-Tepecik Höyük conclusively prove the existence of communities that were familiar with the inhabitants of the Aegean islands in terms of both obsidian and ceramic traditions[123] and that the Çine (Maryas) valley/ "Carian highway" was active at that time. The Cycladic type cist graves and the Cycladica they include in the Iasos cemetery prove that overseas connections were very active in the coastal area (including the possibility of a Cycladic population living in this area as suggested by Massa and Şahoğlu)[124] similarly to Izmir coast. The inland effect of this interaction is reflected by very scarce Cycladic/cycladizing material in northern Caria that may have been transferred via the "Carian highway".

The cemeteries of Kumyer and Damlıboğaz, with the presence of "Carian-type" tankards and two-handled cups, indicate that the new drinking habits, which likely spread among the elites in a large area in Anatolia, reached this region in its earliest stage. A new ceremonial drinking ritual is considered to have become more popular in EBA IIIA through the deposition of the drinking set in ceremonial pits in Troy, Kanlıgeçit and Küllüoba, together with imported ceramics.[125] Anthropomorphic rhyta, holding two-handled cups in their hands, unearthed in a building with a ritual function in Seyitömer,[126] were interpreted by Şahoğlu as an indication of the special function of the two-handled cups.[127] These drinking rituals were not unique to citadels. In Hacımusalar, a site that lacks the traditional elements (citadel, central building etc.) that define the existence of elites, "communal wine drinking" was found in a building and this activity is interpreted to have reinforced the "elite status".[128] The distribution of drinking vessels (depa, tankards, two-handled cup, etc.) in Anatolia parallels the access to the Anatolian Trade Network. This drinking custom was adopted in various parts of Anatolia through the aforementioned network and it existed from at least EBA II. Ceremonies including drinking and/or libation practices are present in several Southwest Anatolian and Carian cemeteries. Bachhuber ascribed the deposition of imported pottery inside graves and ritual practices realised in the cemetery as a symbolic connection between the local individual and "foreign" world; he also emphasised that mortuary rites point to the authority (a group at the top of decision-making according to him) that played an intermediary role in establishing the bond between the society and symbolic/cosmological world.[129] In the case of Caria, the "foreign" might have been the Cycladic one which could be the reason for the Laodikeia-Kandilkırı sauceboat and Karahisar frying pan in burial contexts while Near Eastern elements might have been another "foreign" as in the case of toggle pins and riveted daggers in Dodecanese, Hacımusalar, Kumyer, etc.

Metal objects within Carian graves are mainly personal belongings such as spirals, pins, toggle pins, daggers some of which show Near Eastern connections that could be considered a new form of clothing. Toggle pins are present in funerary, cultic and everyday life contexts; they might have functioned as cultic and/or apotropaic objects alongside their primary function of being personal dress items.[130] As stated above, the existence of toggle pins in Anatolia is taken as evidence of access to inland routes while their spread over the Mediterranean and into Europe is considered a result of direct sea journeys.[131] The presence of metal artefacts with Near Eastern and Cypriot parallels (spirals, riveted daggers, toggle pins, "ring ingots") in Dodecanese and Caria may be taken as proof of maritime connections via the southern coasts of Anatolia, as proposed by Mellink.[132] A very recently published Cypriot jug from Hacımusalar[133] reinforces this proposition. A new form of Near Eastern clothing may have been adapted by West Anatolians elites alongside raw materials, new technology and ideology. According to Frangipane, the privilege of the West Anatolian elite was control over trade routes and luxury goods.[134] Access to both maritime and land routes and sharing elite rituals and habits with other parts of West Anatolia may be taken as evidence of elites being present in Caria during the EBA.

[121] Mellink 1967; 1968; 1969.
[122] Broodbank 2000: 289, Fig. 94.
[123] Günel 2014b: 2021.
[124] Massa/Şahoğlu 2011: 169.
[125] Bachhuber 2015: 140-142; Türkteki/Başkurt 2016: 11-13.
[126] Bilgen/Kapuci 2019: 137-164.
[127] Şahoğlu 2019: 122.
[128] Özgen/Baughan/Ünlü 2021: 632.
[129] Bachhuber 2015: 96.
[130] Iamoni 2012: 360-361.
[131] Kristiansen/Larsson 2005: 119.
[132] Mellink 1993.
[133] Özgen/Baughan/Ünlü 2021: 628.
[134] Frangipane 2012: 58.

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Carian and the whole Southwest Anatolian EBA lack evidence for sailing. There is no evidence that the Carians or any Southwest Anatolian directly sailed in the Aegean (aside from fishing and coastal activities), while for their counterparts in the Cyclades, there is substantial evidence for seamanship (frying-pans, boat models, rock carvings, etc.). Long-distance travels (land and maritime) must have strongly reinforced the status of the ruling class and their rituals. Broodbank stated that experienced seafarers could be the authority and play a mythic role for the Cycladic society.[135] A similar role has been suggested for travelling chefs of the European Bronze Age and these travels are considered primary evidence of the mythological saga of long journeys[136]. West Anatolian Middle and Late Bronze Ages are also poor in terms of archaeological and literary evidence for such symbolism. However, maritime connections continued being economically and politically crucial for Southwest Anatolian societies. Miletos/Millawanda, being under the control of the overseas Ahhiyawa Kingdom as indicated by Hittite written sources, is one of the best pieces of evidence for this relation.[137] Both Herodotus[138] and Strabo's[139] statements regarding the distant past where the Carians were governed by Minos who occupied the islands and Thucydides'[140] citation concerning King Minos appointing his sons as rulers by eliminating the Carians can be taken as very late reflections of "a political power marked by overseas relations."

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[135] Broodbank 2000: 253.
[136] Kristiansen/Larsson 2005: 254-257, Fig. 112.
[137] Mountjoy 1998.
[138] Hdt. I 171.
[139] Str. 14.2.27.
[140] Thuc. 1.4.

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